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Duseley

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INTRODUCTION

Le premier objet de cette étude est de déterminer les conditions de possibilité d'une telle science. On se propose de montrer que la science est possible, et que la science est une science.

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ANTIQUITÉ ORIENTALE.

OBSERVATIONS on some Medals and Gems bearing Inscriptions in the Pahlavi or ancient Persick Character; by sir W. OUSELEY Knight, etc. London, 1801.

OBSERVATIONS sur quelques Médailles et Pierres gravées qui portent des légendes en caractère pehlvi ou ancien persan; par sir W. OUSELEY. Londres, 1801. In-4.º de 47 pag. Avec une gravure.

M. OUSELEY, dont on a eu plus d'une fois occasion de parler, dans ce journal, continue, avec autant d'ardeur que de succès, à enrichir la littérature persane; et à peine le public étoit-il en possession du *Bakhtiyar-nameh*, que ce savant laborieux vient lui offrir l'essai des travaux qu'il a entrepris pour éclaircir les monumens qui nous restent des souverains de Perse, de la dynastie des Sassanides. L'ouvrage que nous annonçons n'est que le prélude d'un travail beaucoup plus considérable, et n'offre que quelques matériaux détachés d'un traité sur la numismatique et les Antiquités de la Perse dont M. O. s'occupe avec assiduité. La publication de ce traité que M. O. se propose de mettre au jour dans le cours de l'année prochaine, se trouvant retardée par la gravure de plusieurs planches, et par celle des poinçons du caractère pehlvi que l'auteur fait

l'île des Princes, Mondamia, les bords de l'Hellespont, et ceux de la mer Noire, il se rend à cette Troade, que Choiseul-Gouffier et Chevalier ont parcourue en tout sens. Il étend ensuite ses observations sur Lesbos, Paros, Naxos, sur les îles de Candie et de Crète, et il ne laisse rien ignorer de ce qui intéresse la curiosité des lecteurs, en s'occupant cependant toujours, et peut-être trop, de ce qui tient à son goût dominant, aux objets qui lui avoient fait entreprendre son voyage, et qui étoient sa destination.

Ce premier volume en promet de plus intéressans : on savoit, à peu près ce qu'on y lit ; mais lorsque ce savant voyageur parcourera l'Ægypte, et surtout la Perse, ses récits deviendront plus instructifs, ses recherches plus curieuses. On pourroit reprocher au C. Olivier quelques négligences de style, mais on doit les pardonner à un savant plus accoutumé à observer qu'à écrire. On a dit que la pureté et l'élégance de la diction ne sont pas le mérite par excellence qui doit caractériser les récits d'un voyageur, et on ne s'est pas souvenu que ce fut ce mérite seul qui fit le succès de certains voyages.

A. J. D. B.

faire d'après les médailles et les inscriptions anciennes, et ce savant ayant été informé que quelques gens de lettres étrangers s'occupoient du même sujet, cette circonstance l'a déterminé à publier cet aperçu de l'ouvrage, pour s'assurer la priorité de quelques découvertes qu'il se flatte d'avoir faites, en déchiffrant les légendes de diverses médailles et pierres gravées qui n'avoient point été expliquées jusqu'ici.

L'ouvrage qui a servi de guide à M. Ouseley dans ses savantes recherches, ainsi qu'il le reconnoît, est le recueil de *Mémoires sur diverses antiquités de la Perse*, que j'ai publié en 1792, et dans lequel j'ai expliqué le premier un assez grand nombre de monumens sassanides, et donné divers alphabets tirés des médailles et des inscriptions. L'effet de mon travail devoit être nécessairement d'attirer sur ce genre de monumens l'attention de quelques amateurs des langues et des antiquités orientales, et de conduire ainsi à des découvertes plus étendues, et à l'explication de plusieurs autres monumens qui n'étoient point entrés dans mon travail, ou dont je m'étois occupé sans succès. Il est vraisemblable que les travaux de M. Ouseley contribueront puissamment au défrichement du terrain que j'ai eu le bonheur de conquérir; et je m'estimerai heureux d'avoir ouvert cette carrière à son génie, et de pouvoir jouir du fruit de ses recherches. Je ne doute point que l'ouvrage qu'il publie en ce moment ne fasse désirer impatiemment celui qu'il promet, quoique toutes ses conjectures ne me paroissent pas également heureuses. Peut-être ne me convenoit-il pas de me

charger d'en rendre compte dans ce journal ; et si j'ai cédé à cet égard aux desirs de mes amis , c'est que je compte assez sur les sentimens de M. Ouseley dont l'amitié m'est très-précieuse , et sur son amour pour la vérité qui seule est l'objet de ses recherches , pour croire qu'il me pardonnera l'impartialité avec laquelle j'exposerai ici mes doutes et mes difficultés , comme je pourrois le faire dans une correspondance particulière. C'est principalement le cabinet de Hunter qui a fourni à M. Ouseley la matière de son travail. Ce cabinet offre vingt-trois médailles d'argent , qui , suivant notre auteur , appartiennent aux Sassanides. De ces médailles , il y en a treize dont les légendes , pareilles à celles que j'ai déchiffrées , ne lui ont offert aucune difficulté : quatre portent le nom d'*Artahschetr* ou *Ardeschir* ; cinq celui de *Schahpouhr* ou *Sapor* ; et trois celui de *Varahran* ou *Bahram*. M. O. les rapporte à Ardeschir I , Sapor II et Bahram V , nommé *Bahram-gour* : une seule offre , du côté de la tête , le nom de Sapor , et au revers celui d'Ardeschir. M. O. , d'après cette singularité , pense qu'elle appartient à Sapor I , fils et successeur d'Ardeschir I. C'est précisément le contraire de ce que j'ai observé sur une médaille de la collection du comte de Pembroke , dont le côté de la tête offre le nom d'Ardeschir , et le revers celui de Sapor. Deux des médailles de Bahram nomment ce prince *roi d'Iran et d'Aniran* , ce qui signifie , comme je l'ai démontré , *roi de l'Iran et du Touran* , ou *des Perses et des Barbares*. Je suis fort porté à croire que les médailles sur lesquelles

Bahram porte ce titre, appartiennent effectivement à Bahramgour; mais je conjecture que celles où on lit simplement *roi de l'Iran*, sont plus anciennes et appartiennent à quelqu'un des princes du même nom qui précèdent Bahramgour. Peut-être M. O. trouvera-t-il, en comparant le style des différentes médailles qui portent le nom de Bahram, des caractères propres à confirmer ou à détruire ma conjecture. Parmi les dix autres médailles d'argent du cabinet de Hunter, six n'ont point encore été déchiffrées par M. O.; les quatre autres sont le sujet des conjectures qu'il propose dans les sections suivantes.

La médaille qui fait le sujet de la seconde section, est extrêmement curieuse et importante, parce qu'elle offre d'un seul côté deux têtes accolées, l'une d'homme, l'autre de femme, et une tête d'enfant en regard devant les deux autres. J'ai indiqué deux médailles pareilles à celle-là, l'une en or, l'autre en argent: celle d'or seule m'offroit une légende que je n'ai pu déchiffrer, parce que les caractères étoient extrêmement menus et mal formés. M. O. a été plus heureux; et, ayant sous les yeux une médaille d'argent plus grande et dont les caractères sont plus distincts, il en a lu parfaitement la légende; et il n'y a plus de doute que ces trois médailles n'appartiennent à un des princes qui ont porté le nom de *Varahran* ou *Bahram*. M. O. qui les attribue à Bahramgour, promet de donner ailleurs les raisons qui le déterminent à adopter ce sentiment. Il examine dans cette même section, si on doit croire, sur le témoignage de Procope, que les princes sassanides ne

frappassent aucune monnaie d'or, et rapporte divers passages d'écrivains orientaux qui lui semblent détruire l'assertion de cet auteur. Cette question cependant seroit bien mieux décidée par quelques médailles pareilles à celle que j'ai indiquée d'après Pellerin, et qui se trouve dans le cabinet des antiques de la bibliothèque nationale, que par les passages cités par M. O.

La troisième section est consacrée à une belle pierre gravée, de la collection du baron de Stosch, dont la légende a été lue par M. O. d'une manière qui ne laisse aucun doute; la voici : *Varahran kirman Schahpouhri malcan malca minotchetri men yez-dan*). Cette pierre appartient incontestablement, comme M. O. le fait voir, à Varahran ou Bahram IV, fils de Sapor II, et surnommé *Kirmanschah*, le même dont le nom se trouve dans une des inscriptions de *Bi-sutoun* ou *Kirmanschah*, copiées par l'astronome Beauchamps, et que j'ai expliquées. La légende de cette pierre gravée signifie donc *Varahran Kirman, fils de Schahpouhr, roi des rois de l'Iran, de la race des dieux*.

Une autre pierre gravée, de la collection de Gorlaeus, dont M. O. s'occupe dans la quatrième section, porte, suivant lui, le nom de Sapor; mais la légende contient, outre ce nom, plusieurs lettres qui n'ont point été déchiffrées par M. O. Je crois cependant qu'il a bien approché de la vérité, en disant dans une note : « Le mot qui précède *Schahpouhri*, peut « être *Firouz* ou *Férok*, deux noms propres qui se « rencontrent fréquemment dans l'histoire des Sas-

« sanides, ou bien ce n'est peut-être qu'un adjectif
« employé ici simplement comme une épithète (1): »
Il me semble en effet qu'on y lit *Firoutch*, qui
peut bien être le même nom que *Firouz*; en sorte
que cette pierre représenterait un personnage, et
peut-être un prêtre ou *Mobed* nommé *Firouz*, fils
de *Sapor*. Au reste, j'avoue qu'il me reste quelques
doutes sur le nom même de *Sapor*.

La figure 5 offre une pierre gravée, dont la légende
m'a toujours présenté tant de difficultés, que je n'ai
osé hasarder aucune conjecture à ce sujet. M. O.,
qui lui a consacré la 5.^e section de ses *Observations*,
n'a pas été moins incertain que moi sur la plus grande
partie des caractères qui composent cette légende:
quelques-unes de ses conjectures ont beaucoup de
vraisemblance, et sont conformes à mes soupçons;
mais je ne puis me persuader qu'on y lise le nom
de *Khosrou* ou *Cosroës*, comme il le tient pour cer-
tain. La légende commence par un caractère dont
M. O. n'a point tenu compte, et que sans doute
il n'a pas pris pour une lettre. Pour moi je prends
ce caractère pour un *Mem*, et je conjecture que les
trois premières lettres MHR, forment le nom de
Mihr ou *Mithra*. Ce nom d'un *Ized* pouvoit entrer
dans le nom propre du personnage représenté sur
cette pierre, comme on le voit dans *Mithridate*,
qui signifie *donné par Mithra*: je soupçonne aussi
qu'on y lit le mot *Khschetro* (*roi*); mais ce sont

(1) The word preceding Shahpouhri may be *firouz* or *ferokh*,
both proper names which frequently occur in the Sassanian history
— or it may be an adjective used morely as an epithet.

de pures conjectures auxquelles je ne puis donner aucun développement sans le secours de la gravure.

L'espèce de médailles dont M. O. traite dans la 6.^e section, a donné lieu aux conjectures du savant professeur de Rostock, M. O. G. Tychsen : il a cru qu'elles contenoient des légendes, partie persanes et partie arabes, et que l'ère ou la date de leur fabrication étoit indiquée par quelques caractères qui sont placés hors du champ de la médaille. J'ai aussi conjecturé que ces médailles pouvoient avoir été frappées immédiatement après la destruction de l'empire des Sassanides par les Arabes; et que ces nouveaux conquérans, en conservant un type relatif à l'ancienne religion des Perses, parce qu'ils n'avoient point encore adopté de type particulier aux Musulmans, s'étoient contentés d'y mettre une légende en caractères arabes : j'avois cru pouvoir fonder cette conjecture sur quelques passages d'auteurs arabes, et je soupçonnois même avoir lu le nom d'*Omar* sur quelques-unes de ces médailles. Cette conjecture, il faut l'avouer, est très-difficile à admettre, car il n'est guère vraisemblable que les premiers Musulmans, observateurs zélés de leur religion, eussent souffert qu'on fabriquât sous leurs yeux une monnoie dont les types offroient des figures humaines et les attributs du culte du feu. J'ai aussi soupçonné que ces médailles pouvoient appartenir aux princes du Dilem, qui jouent un rôle dans l'histoire de l'empire des khalifes, tels que *Mardawidje*, *Waschméghir*, etc., et qui pouvoient bien être des rejetons des Sassanides. Ces princes avoient conservé le culte

du feu; ils ont été puissans pendant quelque temps dans le Khorasan, le Djébal et d'autres provinces de l'ancien empire d'Iran; et il ne seroit pas surprenant que l'on y trouvât des monumens de leur puissance et de leur religion.

M. O. est d'une autre opinion : il croit lire sur toutes ces médailles le nom de KHOSROU, et même les mots MALCAN MALCA (*roi des rois*) sur une de celles qu'il a fait graver. Il y a plus : sur cette même médaille, qui fait partie du cabinet impérial de Vienne, et qui porte au revers une tête de femme, au lieu des attributs de la religion de Zoroastre, il lit le mot IRAN ou SCHIRIN, qui lui paroît pouvoir rappeler SCHIRIN, la belle maîtresse de Khosrou Parwiz, ou la princesse Irène, fille de l'empereur Maurice, que Khosrou Parwiz épousa, s'il en faut croire les historiens orientaux. La tête de femme qu'offre cette médaille donne beaucoup de poids à la conjecture de M. O. Les mots MALCAN MALCA me paroissent aussi assez lisibles, mais je ne puis, ni sur cette médaille, ni sur aucune autre de cette classe, lire le nom de KHOSROU, et elles me paroissent encore rester parmi les médailles incertaines, malgré les observations fines et les rapprochemens ingénieux de M. O.

Il ne me reste plus à parler que de la 7.^e et dernière section des observations de M. O. Celle-ci a pour objet quelques médailles qui appartiennent incontestablement à des princes Arsacides, et dont M. Swinton a essayé d'expliquer les légendes. J'en

ai parlé dans mes *Mémoires sur les Antiquités de la Perse*, et je n'ai pas cru pouvoir admettre la lecture proposée par M. Swinton; mais je n'ai point osé y substituer d'autres conjectures. M. O. pense aussi que son savant compatriote s'est beaucoup trop abandonné sur ce point aux écarts de son imagination. Pour lui, il suppose, ce qui est très-naturel, que les caractères qu'offrent ces médailles sont *pehlvi*; et en les comparant avec ceux des inscriptions de Nakschi-Roustam et de Kirmanschah que j'ai déchiffrées, il croit lire, sur une de ces médailles publiées par Pellerin et que j'avois citées, les mots : MALCA BEH BALGI MALCAN MALCA, c'est-à-dire, *l'excellent Vologèse, roi des rois*. M. O. examine ensuite en détail les mots qui composent cette légende, et il est impossible de se refuser à reconnoître que tout ce qu'il dit à ce sujet, est d'une grande vraisemblance. Il n'y a aucun doute sur les deux premiers mots MALCA BEH; le nom du roi est plus douteux, et je croirois volontiers qu'il est composé des cinq lettres *Vav*, *Vav*, *Lamed*, *Ghimel* et *Jod*, le premier *Vav* étant joint avec le mot précédent BEH. Je ne vois pas comment M. O. trouve un *Beth* dans ce nom propre, et il me semble qu'en lisant au commencement deux *Vav*, on n'est plus embarrassé que faire d'un trait qui a fait naître quelques doutes dans l'esprit de M. O., et lui a fait dire : « au sujet
« de ce trait ou de cette lettre qui semble attachée
« au mot *Beh*, il est vraisemblable que tout doute
« seroit levé par l'inspection de la médaille elle-

« même (1). » D'une façon ou de l'autre, ce sera toujours le nom de *Vologèse*. Après ce nom, M. O. lit MALCAN MALCA, ce qui suppose neuf lettres; je n'en compte que sept. Les quatre premières forment bien certainement le mot MALCA; et je n'ai jamais douté qu'on ne dût lire deux fois ce mot dans la légende de cette médaille. Pour les trois autres lettres, j'en ignore absolument la valeur, et quoiqu'il me paraisse vraisemblable que le tout doit signifier *roi des rois*, je ne puis admettre la lecture proposée par le savant auteur des *Observations*.

On voit, par le compte que je viens de rendre du travail de M. O., et on s'en convaincra encore mieux en lisant ses *Observations* avec le secours de la gravure qui les accompagne, que plusieurs des monumens qu'il publie dans cet ouvrage, sont expliqués d'une manière qui ne laisse rien à désirer; et si, par rapport aux autres, ses conjectures ne paroissent pas à tous les lecteurs avoir le même degré de vraisemblance, du moins peuvent-elles mettre sur la voie ceux qui voudront courir la même carrière. D'ailleurs elles sont toujours proposées avec une réserve et une modestie qui n'appartient qu'au vrai talent; ce qui doit concilier à leur auteur l'estime des lecteurs, autant que ses rares connoissances et son zèle pour le succès de la littérature persane, lui assurent leur admiration et lui donnent des droits à leur reconnaissance. S. DE. S.

(1) On the subject of that stroke or letter which seems attached to the *beh*, any doubt would probably be removed by inspection of the medal itself.

PHYSIQUE.

*EXTRAIT des Recherches du C. BENEDICT-
PREVOST, et de quelques autres physi-
ciens, sur les Mouvements des substances
odorantes placées sur l'eau; par le C. BIOT.*

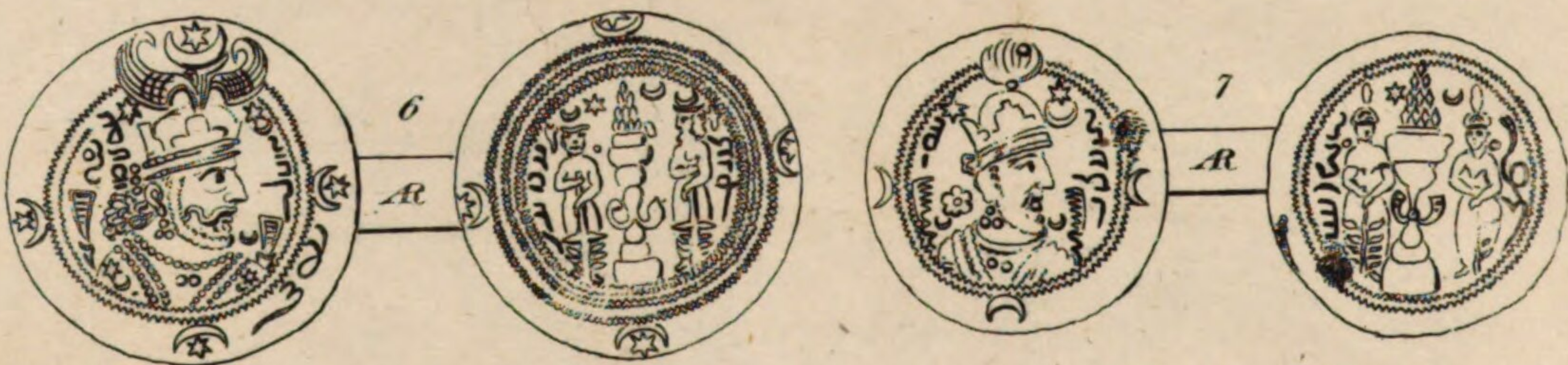
C'EST un fait depuis longtemps connu des physi-
ciens, que de petits morceaux de camphre placés
sur l'eau pure, s'y meuvent en tournant avec une
grande rapidité, Volta et Brugnatelli ont obtenu
les mêmes résultats en employant l'acide benzoïque
et l'acide succinique. Le C. Benedict-Prevost a étendu
cette propriété à un grand nombre de substances
odorantes, comme on peut le voir dans les n.^{os} 1
et 8 du *Bulletin des sciences*.

Mais si tout le monde s'est accordé à reconnoître
les faits, on a beaucoup différé dans les explications
qu'on en a données.

Le C. Prevost attribue ces mouvemens à l'éma-
nation des parties odorantes des corps; on peut voir
dans les numéros cités, les expériences sur les-
quelles il appuie cette opinion. Venturi, profes-
seur de physique à Modène, applique à ces phé-
nomènes l'explication que Monge a donnée des at-
tractions apparentes des corps qui flottent à la sur-
face de l'eau: suivant lui, « l'eau a plus d'attrac-
« tion pour le camphre solide, que pour la petite
« portion qu'elle en a déjà dissoute et saturée: elle
« monte le long du morceau solide, et y forme une

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OBSERVATIONS
ON SOME
MEDALS AND GEMS,
BEARING INSCRIPTIONS
IN THE
PAHLAVI
OR
ANCIENT PERSICK CHARACTER.

BY
SIR WILLIAM OUSELEY, KNIGHT, LL.D.

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF ROSTOCH,
HONORARY MEMBER OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF SCIENCES AT GOTTINGEN,
AND OF THE ASIATICK SOCIETY OF CALCUTTA.

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1801.

RESERVATIONS

ON 1891

MEDALS AND GEMS

BY THE REV. J. H. B. B. B.

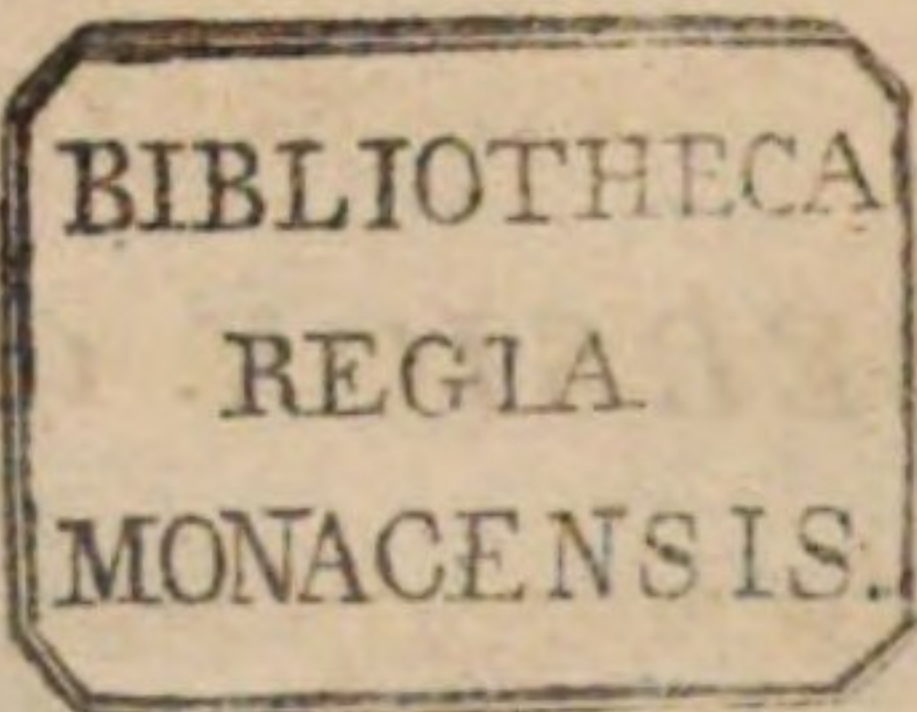
ALPHABETICALLY

AND IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

BY THE REV. J. H. B. B. B.

AND IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

BY THE REV. J. H. B. B. B.



THE WILLIAM OWSELEY, KNIGHT, F.R.S.

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

AND OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

OXFORD

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FOR E. HARRING, NO. 2, BULL-MALL

1891

ADVERTISEMENT.

HAVING been informed, by a letter received last month from a very learned Foreign Orientalist, that the study of Persian Antiquities is widely diffused over the Continent of Europe, and that a Gentleman attached to the Embassy from Vienna to Constantinople is employed on the subject of Sassanian Coins, I became apprehensive that some remarks and conjectures, which had suggested themselves to me whilst deciphering various Pahlavi inscriptions, might be anticipated, and the merit of having first explained some Gems and Medals might be disputed by another.

That I may secure my claim to priority, I have extracted, in the following work, some passages from the manuscript materials of a Treatise on the Numismatick and Miscellaneous Antiquities of Persia, which, although I have been several months employed in the composition of it, from the delay in cutting types, and engraving plates, cannot be ready for publication before the Spring of next year.

In the present work, after Mons. de Sacy's example, I have expressed the Pahlavi in equivalent Hebrew characters, and must refer my readers to the alphabet which that celebrated Orientalist has given in his "Memoires sur diverses Antiquités de la Perse."

To this alphabet I am enabled to add, by the study of several rare gems and medals, a variety of forms in different letters.—All these shall be exhibited at one view on a copper-plate annexed to my future volume; for which, also, I am now preparing moveable types, to express the true and ancient Pahlavi character, as those which were used by the learned HYDE, of Oxford, imitate only the hand-writing of the modern Parsis, or Fire-worshippers.

London, Aug. 22, 1801.

OBSERVATIONS

ON SOME

PERSIAN MEDALS AND GEMS.

SECTION I.

General Remarks.

AMIDST a multiplicity of numismatick treasures preserved in the late Dr. Hunter's museum, are twenty-three silver medals, which remain hitherto unexplained, although we find that they have attracted the notice of many learned antiquaries; and that Sir William Jones, on inspecting them several years ago, conceived the practicability of forming an alphabet by which their legends might be de-

SECT. I.

 GENERAL
 REMARKS.

ciphered*. Each exhibits, on one side, the head of a Persian king, with a legend in ancient characters; and on the reverse an altar, with the sacred fire.

Six of these medals I have not yet succeeded in explaining: on the subject of four I shall offer some conjectures; and of the other thirteen I have been enabled, by the assistance of M. de Sacy's Pahlavi alphabet, to read the inscriptions, and ascertain most unequivocally the names of all those monarchs to whom they respectively belong.

Of these thirteen medals, four bear the image and superscription of *Artahshetr*, or *Ardeshir*; and, for reasons which shall be assigned in a future work, I would attribute them to the great founder of the Sassanian dynasty, who

* "That character (the Pahlavi) was extremely rude, and seems to have been written in a variety of hands; for I remember to have examined a rare collection of old Persian coins in the museum of the great anatomist, WILLIAM HUNTER; and though I believe the legends to be *Pahlavi*, and had no doubt that they were coins of *Parthian* kings, yet I could not read the inscriptions, without wasting more time than I had then at command, in comparing the letters, and ascertaining the proportions in which they severally occurred." *Asiat. Researches, Vol. I. Discourse on the Persians.*

flourished in the third century, and whom the Greek and Roman historians call *Artaxares* and *Artaxerxes**.

SECT. I.

GENERAL
REMARKS.

The fifth medal exhibits a head of the same *Ardeshir*, with the name of *Shapour* or Sapor on the obverse, and that of *Ardeshir* on the reverse; this Shapour I believe to be the first Sassanian monarch of that name, and son of Ardeshir †.

Five other medals present the head and titles of Shapour, and these I assign to the second prince of that name, whom the Arabian historians entitle *Dhul'ectaf* ‡.

* The original name *Artahshetr* was probably softened in pronunciation; for *Moses Chorenensis*, an Armenian writer of the fifth century, calls him *Artashir*, (*Hist. Armen.* 190, &c. Edit. Whiston. Lond. 1736;) and the modern Persians اردشیر *Ardeshir*; various etymologies of this name shall be offered in another place.

† In the Pembroke collection (Part 2d, pl. 77,) we find a medal exhibiting the name of Ardeshir on the head side, and on the reverse the words *Shahpouhri*, *Shahpouhri*.—In this singularity M. de Sacy (*Memoires sur div. Antiq. de la Perse*, &c. p. 195,) discovers an allusion to the partition of empire between Ardeshir and his son Shapour.

‡ ذوالاكتاف He was so called from having caused the shoulder-bones of his captive enemies to be pierced or broken.

SECT. I.

GENERAL
REMARKS.

The other three exhibit the head of *Baharam*, or *Vara-*
ranes, adorned with a winged diadem; these I have reasons
 for ascribing rather to Baharam the fifth (called by the Per-
 sians *Baharam Gour*, *بهرام گور*) than to any other monarch
 of the same name*.

On the medals of Ardeshir and Shapour the legends
 differ only in the king's name, so that in this place the
 transcribing of one will suffice as a description of all—my
 Pahlavi types not being yet ready for use, I shall express
 the ancient Persian in equivalent Hebrew characters. On
 the obverse of Ardeshir's coins we read the following in-
 scription :

מזדיסן בה ארתחשתר מלכאן מלכא איראן מנוגתרי מן יזדאן

Mazdiesn beh Artahshetr malkan malka Airan minochetri men Yezdan †.

* The gradual corruption of this name may be traced through a variety
 of authors—from the pure and original *Varharan* the Greek and Latin
 historians formed *Ouaranes*, *Vararanes*, *Bararanes*, *Varamus*, &c. In the
Old Ravayet, or collection of Parsi traditions, (a very rare and curious ma-
 nuscript,) I find it written indifferently, and almost in the same page,
Varharam, and *Barharam*; from which the modern writers
 have abridged it into *Bahram*.

† This inscription in modern Persick would appear thus:

مزدیسن به ارتخشتر ملکان ملکا ایران منوچتری من یزدان

"The worshipper of Ormuzd (or omnipotence), the excellent Artahshetr—

"King of kings—of Iran (or Persia), celestially descended from the

"Gods *."

SECT. I.

GENERAL

REMARKS.

On the reverse,

آرتخشتر یزدانی *Artahshetr yezdani* †, or "Ardeshir the divine."

Although M. de Sacy has sufficiently justified this interpretation †, I shall, in another place, analyse the legends of all those Sassanian medals, and examine them word by word—to dwell longer on them here would be inconsistent with the brevity of my present plan : I shall therefore close this section, by observing, that the inscriptions on two of Baharam's medals differ from those of Ardeshir and Shahr-pour, only in the king's name, and in having, after אִרְאָן

* The good *Genii*, or Spirits, whom, like fire, the Persians venerated as emanations of the true God, the sole object, in fact, of their real adoration—from those celestial spirits the haughty Sapor boasted of his descent, when he said to the Christians, who refused to worship him, "Know you not that I am of the race of the Gods?" See "Act. Mart. Orient. pp. 227 and 228.

† آرتخشتر یزدانی

‡ Mem. sur div. Antiq. de la Perse, pp. 76, 89, 171, &c. &c.

SECT. I.

GENERAL
REMARKS.

Iran, the additional words *ו אניראן* *ve Aniran*, which may be translated, "*and of Aniran**," the country now called *Touran*, Scythia, Tartary, or the regions beyond the river *Oxus*, and other limits of *Iran*.

* In modern Persian characters *و انیران*

SECTION II.

Medals of Baharam.

IN the annexed plate are representations of two medals: that marked fig. 1. copied from the Third Supplement to Pellerin's "*Recueils des Medailles*," (Plate 2d, page 40.) the other (fig. 2.) taken from the coin itself, preserved in Dr. Hunter's museum *. Of this, Mr. Pinkerton, a most able and ingenious antiquary, perceived the value, when he selected it from the entire collection, as a specimen of Sassanian coinage †.

The first is of gold, and was deposited in the *Cabinet*

* Mr. Tassie, a very ingenious young artist of London, has lately obtained permission to take moulds of all the Sassanian, as well as many other ancient medals belonging to this admirable collection, from which the impressions, in paste or sulphur, exhibit with such accuracy the minutest features, as to render any inspection of the originals almost unnecessary for the purposes of a decipherer.

† See his Essay on Medals, Vol. I. Plate I. Fig. 10—from which work an engraving of this medal has been copied in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, lately printed at Edinburgh.—Article *Medal*.

SECT. II. *du Roi*, at Paris. “Those who apply themselves to the study of ancient history,” says M. Pellerin, “may perhaps discover on this golden medal some character or feature, which shall enable them to ascertain the King and Queen, whose heads it exhibits, closely touching, or joined one to the other, with the bust or half-figure of a young man opposite, who offers them a crown *.”

MEDALS
OF
BAHARAM.

Of this very curious medal M. de Sacy informs us that the legend is composed of characters so small and badly expressed, that his endeavours to decipher it were vain †. My own attempts on this subject would, no doubt, have proved equally fruitless, had not the silver Hunterian medal, (plate fig. 2,) which bears the same device, and incontestably belongs to the same king, presented the following inscription in characters distinct and legible.

* “Ceux qui s'appliquent a l'etude de l'Histoire ancienne pourront peut-être aussi y trouver quelque trait propre a donner connoissance du Roi et de la Reine dont les têtes sont accolees sur la medaille d'or au devant desquels est la figure d'un jeune homme a mi-corps qui leur presente une couronne.”—Trois. Supplem. aux Recueils des Med. p. 36.

† “— mais les caractères sont si petits et si informes que je n'ai rien pu y distinguer, &c.”—Mem. sur diverses Antiq. 193.

On the obverse,

מזדיסן בה ורחראן מלכאן מלכאן איראן מנוגתרי מן יזדא

*Mazdiesn beh Varharan malkan malkan airan minochetri men Yezda (n) **.

“The worshipper of Ormuzd—the excellent Baharam, King of kings—of Iran—celestially descended from the Gods.”

On the reverse,

Varhar (a) n Yezdani, “or, Baharam the Divine †.”

The reader will perceive that the letter *n* of the second *malkan* is superfluous—the Sassanian medals afford many instances of similar inaccuracies and mistakes; some of these M. de Sacy has pointed out, and others shall be noticed in my future publication: the last word of the inscription on the obverse (*Yezdan*) wants the final *n*, and in this respect the gold medal agrees with the silver, if M. Pellérin's engraving of the former has been executed with fidelity.

مزدیسن به ورهران ملکان ملکان ایران منوچتتری من یزدان *

ورهران یزدانی †

SECT. II.

 MEDALS
OF
BAHARAM.

Although we are enabled to assign these medals to Baharam, yet they furnish no information on the subject of the queen and youth, whose portraits they exhibit. The king appears wearing his winged tiara, as one supporter of the fire-altar on the reverse : whilst a female (most probably the queen) is represented as the other. On the Hunterian medal the sex of this figure is perfectly discernible, and particularly marked by the projecting head-dress, which resembles that of the queen on the obverse : but Mr. Pinkerton's engraver*, like the artist whom Pellerin† employed, has metamorphosed the female supporter into a bearded man, and omitted the wing, which, on the other supporter's head, is evidently one of the regal ornaments.

My reasons for attributing those coins to Baharam the fifth, rather than to any other prince of that name, shall be hereafter mentioned.

I cannot, however, proceed to the next section, without

* See " Essay on Medals, Vol. I. pl. 1. fig. 10.

† See " Troisième Supplém. aux Recueils des Méd. pl. 2. fig. 1.

remarking, that a gold medal of the Sassanidæ is in itself a numismatick treasure of uncommon value, because, according to Procopius, “ it was not lawful for the Persian kings, or any other monarch of the Barbarians, to stamp their images on pieces of gold, whatever quantities of that metal they might possess, since, money of such a description was not used in the commercial dealings even of the Barbarians themselves*.”

SECT. II.
MEDALS
OF
BAHARAM.

The reader must determine, whether the discovery of a single medal should invalidate the evidence of Procopius. I know not of any other exception to the general rule; and even this may perhaps have been stricken as a proof-piece, and never intended for general circulation.

I shall examine, in another place, all that can be collected from the works of Tabari, Ferdusi, and Nizami, re-

* “ Χαρακτῆρα δὲ ἰδίου ἐμβάλλεσθαι σατῆρι χρυσῷ ἔτε αὐτὸν θέμις, ἔτε δὲ ἄλλον ὄνῃνα ἐν βασιλεα τῶν παντῶν βαρβαρῶν· καὶ ταῦτα, μάλλον ὄντα χρυσῷ κυρίον· ἐπεὶ εἶδε τοῖς ἐμβάλλεσσι προῖεσθαι τὸ νομισμα τῆς οἰοῖτε εἰσιν, καὶ βαρβαρὸς τῆς ἐμβάλλοντος εἶναι ἐμβαινει.” Procop. de Bello Gothico, Lib. III. cap. 33. or according to some copies, cap. 17.

SECT. II. MEDALS OF BAHARAM. specting the Sassanian, as well as the more early coinage of Persia: but I cannot here suppress, although by quoting them I encroach on the materials of my future work, one passage from a very ancient and excellent historian, *Assim of Cufa*, and another of much greater strength, from *Tabari*. In relating the conquests of the Khalif Omar, Assim informs us, that *Hormuzan*, Prince or Governor of Ahwaz, and a General of the Persians, having been taken prisoner by *Abu Musa Alashari*, the Arabians entered his palace, and one of them perceived a statue of marble, representing a human figure pointing with both hands to a certain spot on the ground—the sagacious Mussulman soon conceived that this attitude of the statue indicated the concealment of some treasure—

ساعتی در آن صورت نگریست و اندیشه کرد با خویشان چون این صورت بر آن شکل در دیوار گرفته اند که بدستهای سویی زمین اشارت میکند. همه حال زیر آن زمین چیزی است نزدیک بوموسی آمد و او را از آن حال خبر داد بوموسی جماعتی را از معتمدان خویشان آنجا فرستاد تا آن زمین بکنند سفتی بزرگ یافتند قفلی محکم بر آن نهاده بگرفتند و پیش بوموسی آوردند فرمود که سران باز کشادند زر نقد یافتند که بر نام کسری زده بودند و زرینها بسیار از گوشوارها و قلادها و پای درنجن از هر نوع جمله بجواهر مرصع و انگشترینها بسیار غایت نیکو

“ Awhile he contemplated the statue, and thought within himself that since
 “ it was so fixed against the wall as to point with its hands towards the
 “ ground, there must, by all means, have been something hidden there—
 “ he hastened to *Abu Musa*, and informed him of the circumstance—
 “ *Abu Musa* immediately sent some trusty persons to dig up the ground
 “ —they discovered a great basket fastened by a very strong lock, and
 “ *Abu Musa* having ordered them to lift up the cover, they found in
 “ it money coined in the name of the Kesri*, with many trinkets of
 “ gold, such as ear-rings or pendants, collars or necklaces, ornaments †
 “ for the feet, of every kind, all set with jewels, besides a considerable
 “ number of beautiful rings, &c.”

The word زر which I have here equivocally translated *money*, signifies, in its primitive and proper sense, *gold*—but as it is often used, in familiar conversation and writing, to express coin of silver as well as of gold, I shall not

* This word, although originally applied by the Arabian authors to *Nushirvan*, must be here translated *the Persian king*; for, in this sense it frequently occurs in other parts of *Assim's Chronicle*—thus, speaking of *Shad*, the son of *Azad*, one of King *Yezdegerd's* officers, he styles him
 سرهنگي از سرهنگان کسري “ a General of the Generals of the Kesri.”
 —In *Tabari* also we find يزدجرد کسري *Kesri Yezdegerd*.

† The word ورنجن is sometimes written برنجن the و (v) being changed into ب (b) as in many other examples. *Verenjin*, according to the *Ferhungs Jehangiri*, and *Borhan Kattea* (see Article ورنجن) signifies the clasps or rings of gold or silver, which women wear upon their wrists and ankles.

SECT. II.
MEDALS
OF
BAHARAM.

infer more from this passage than a very strong probability that it alludes to money of both metals—an inference sufficiently justified by the following extract from Tabari, who, describing a great battle in the time of Omar, between the Arabs and Persians, introduces the following anecdote :

و عجم صبر کردند تا روز کرم شد پس بادی برخاست از سوی مغرب و بر روی عجم میزد چنانکه یکدیگر را ندیدند و رستم تخت خود بر لب جوی نهاده بود و اشتران را درم و دینار بار کرده بود هزار اشتر کرد تخت وی ایستاده بود و بر سر رستم ستاره زده بود که او را همی سایه داشت باد برآمد و آن ستاره را برداشت و بآب افکند و افتاب سخت کرم شد رستم از تخت زرین برخاست و زیر پای اشتران اندر شد و بسایه اشتران می بود و عرب خویشتن بقلب اندر افکندند و مردی از عرب نام هلال بن علقمه بدان اشتر رسید دانست که آن دینارست و درم پس شمشیر بزد و رن اشتر برید و یک تنک دینار از پشت اشتر بیفتاد و بر پشت رستم آمد و استخوان پشت وی بشکست رستم از درد خویشتن را بآب اندر افکند و هلال بدانست که آن رستم است پایش بکرفت و از آب پیرون کشید و سرش برید و بر سر نیزه کرد

“ And the Persians waited until the day became warm, and after that a
“ breeze arose from the west, and blew upon the faces of the Persians,
“ so that they could not discern one another—and *Rustam* (their general)

“ had placed his throne on the brink of a rivulet, and a thousand camels
 “ laden with *Direms* and *Dinars*, (silver and gold money,) were standing
 “ near his throne—and above his head was suspended a curtain or awn-
 “ ing to yield him shade—this curtain the wind carried off, and it fell
 “ into the water—The sun’s heat being very powerful, Rustam arose from
 “ his golden throne, and sheltered himself at the feet of a camel, and
 “ the Arabs had penetrated to the center; and a certain man of the Arabs,
 “ named *Helal ben Alkamah*, came towards that camel, and knowing that
 “ it was laden with *direms* and *dinars*, he cut the camel’s rope with
 “ his sword, and a sack of *dinars* fell from the camel’s load upon the
 “ back of Rustam, and broke his back-bone—and in his agony he threw
 “ himself into the water—but *Helal* knew that this was Rustam, and he
 “ took him by the feet and drew him forth from the water, and cut off
 “ his head, and stuck it on the point of his spear, &c.”

SECT. II.

MEDALS

OF

BAHARAM.

I shall close this section by observing, that the word *درم* (*direm*) or *درهم* (*dirhem*) although it may be translated according to that excellent Dictionary, the *Kashf al loghat*. *مهر زر و نقره و مس* “Coin of gold, silver or copper;” yet when used with *دينار* (*dinar*) as in the passage above quoted, it must rather signify silver, *dinar* being the proper term for gold*. Thus the Arabick Dictionary, entitled *بحر الجواهر*.

* “Aureum *دينار* (*Dinar*) denarium; argenteum *درهم* (*Dirhem*) drachmam; æreum *فلس* (*Fuls*) follem appellans.”—O. G. Tychsen, Introd. in *Rem Numariam Muham.* p. 8.

SECT. II.

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 OF
 BAHARAM.

or “Ocean of Pearls,” explains the word *الدنار اي الذهب* “Dinar, that is, gold.”—The *Ferhung Abdurrahim* says, *دینار مهر اینست زرین* “Dinar—coin, that is, of gold”—and the *Borhan Kattea* defines it “red money or gold,” *زر سرخ* in contradistinction to white or silver money. The *Old Ravayet*, a curious manuscript containing many traditions of the Parsis, speaks of this red or golden coin, and of *دینار مصري* *Egyptian dinars*, and *دینار خسروي* *Imperial dinars*, or *dinars of Khosru* in the time of Nushirvan. We also find mention of dinars in Ferdusi’s history of Baharam the First, Khosru Parviz, Shirouieh, and other Sassanian kings; and we read in the *Acts of the Eastern Martyrs**, that Shapour sent to Barshehin a vase or cup, filled with a thousand golden *sinca*s. The learned editor Assemani, who gives the original Syriack of this passage, remarks, that the *sinca*, or half-drachm, is the name of a coin still used in the east†.

* “Acta Martyrum Orientalium.” Tom. I. p. 114.

†. “Sinca, i. e. semi-drachma, monetæ id nomen est quæ etiamnum apud Orientales viget.” p. 117.

SECTION III.

Gem of Baharam Kirmanshah.

I now proceed to explain the Pahlavi inscription on a very curious sulphur described in Mr. Tassie's Catalogue of Gems, (No. 673,) as belonging to the Collection of Baron Stosch, and represented in the plate annexed, fig. 3.

The inscription, of which the first word is opposite and nearest to the face, is to be read thus :

“*Varharan Kirman Shahpouhri malkan malka minochetri men yez (dan) **,”

although in the original the words *Shahpouhri malkan* are placed over, and seem to precede *Varharan Kirman*, in this manner :

شاهپوهری ملکان
ورهران کرمان ملکا منوچتری من یز (دان)

The last syllable of *Yezdan* (دان) is not legible on the gem—and the second letter 𐭠 of *Shahpouhri* is partly effaced. The reader will also remark, that the same character is used to express the *l* and *r*; a circumstance which occurs in many other inscriptions, as I shall have occasion to observe in a future Essay on the Pahlavi Alphabet.

SECT. III.

GEM OF
BAHARAM
KIRMAN-
SHAH.

But the sense ascertains the true meaning, for these words signify :

“ Baharam Kirman (son of) Shapour, King of kings, of the celestial
“ race of the Gods, or celestially descended from the Gods.”

As King Baharam the fifth, to whom I have assigned the medals above described, was denominated *Gour*, from circumstances which shall be hereafter noticed ; so Baharam the fourth, whose image is sculptured on this gem, was surnamed *Kirman* or *Kirmanshah*, “ because,” says the historian Tabari, “ Shapour, (his father, called *Dhu'lectaf*,) bestowed on him, during his infancy, the government of Kirman.”

زیرا کہ شاپور اورا پادشاهی کرمان داده بود در کودکی و این بهرام
کرمان شاه خواندندی

Ferdusi also mentions this title, although most transcribers of the Shahnameh apply it erroneously to Baharam the third, who was surnamed *Seganshah*, or *Seistanshah* ;

بتاجش زیرجد برافشانند
همی نام کرمان شهنش خواندند

“ They scattered jewels on his diadem, and called him Kirman Shah.”

This surname (*Kirmanshah*) has been corrupted by European writers into *Cermasat*, and the occasion of it mistaken. "The son of Sapor," says Bizarus, "was *Varanes*, entitled *Cermasat*, from *Cerma*, a certain nation which he subjugated, in the same manner as the Romans sur-named Africanus from Africa, Germanicus from Germany, &c."*

SECT. III.

GEM OF
BAHARAM
KIRMAN-
SHAH,

The name of this king, who flourished about the middle of the fourth century, has been omitted by *Al Ghuffari*, in the *Jehan Ara*†, where he is confounded with his predecessor: and other Persian writers disagree in their histories of his reign, which, according to Tabari, lasted eleven; according to the *Tarikh Gozideh*, thirteen; and according to the *Shahnameh*, fourteen years. The manner of his death is also variously related; in this place it will be sufficient to give Tabari's account of it:

* "Saporis filius Varanes, qui et Cermasat, a Cerma natione quadam in potestatem redacta, haud secus dictus ac Romani assuevere qui ab Africa Africanum dixerunt, et Germanicum a Germania, et ex aliis item alios denominarunt."—Bizari *Rerum Persicarum Histor.* Lib. IV. p. 112.

† See *Epitome of the Ancient History of Persia*, p. 50.

SECT. III.

GEM OF
BAHARAM
KIRMAN-
SHAH.

و یازده سال ملک بود پس سپاه برو بشویدند و کرد آمدند و او را
در میان گرفتند و تیری زدند و بدان زخم بمرد و کس ندانست که ان تیر
که انداخت و از پس او پسرش بمملک بنشانند نام او یزدجرد الاثیم و
بسیار ستم کرد و از بهران او را اثیم خواندند که او ستمکار بود و
بپارسی بزه کار خواندندی

“ And he was king eleven years—Then the soldiers rose up against him,
“ and crowded about him and surrounded him, and shot an arrow, from
“ the wound of which he died—and no person knew by whom that arrow
“ had been shot—And after him they placed in the chief government his
“ son, named *Yezdegerd Alathim*: and he practised much tyranny and
“ oppression, and they called him (in Arabick) *Alathim*, or the wicked,
“ because he was a tyrant; and in Persian they called him *Bazegar*.”

That he was succeeded by his son, appears also from the
testimony of Agathias, a Greek writer: but several of the
Persian historians deny that Yezdegerd was the son of Ba-
haram. “ Some have affirmed, according to the *Tebkat*
Nasseri *, that he had not any child, and that the govern-
ment devolved upon his brother Yezdegerd, surnamed *Ala-*

* طبقات ناصري A very rare and valuable manuscript of the thirteenth
century.

thim (or the wicked), and some have affirmed that this was his son, who, after his father, ascended the throne.”—

SECT. III.
GEM OF
BAHARAM
KIRMAN-
SHAH.

بعضي گفته اند اورا فرزندی نبود ملک به برادر او رسید یزدجرد الاثیم
و بعضي گفته اند پسر او بود و بعد از پدر بتخت نشست

Ferdusi, however, in the Shahnameh, positively declares, that

نبودش پسر پنج دخترش بود
يکي کمتر از وي برادرش بود
بد و داد ناکام کنج و سپاه
همان مهرشاي و تخت و کلاه

“He had five daughters, but not a son—To a younger brother he reluctantly
“bequeathed his treasures and his armies, the royal signet, the throne,
“and the diadem.”

SECTION IV.

Gem of Shapour.

FROM the Dactyliothea of Gorlæus*, (No. 198,) I have borrowed the engraving of this agate, which the reader will find in the annexed plate (fig. 4.) Had I an opportunity of inspecting the gem itself, I might probably be enabled to explain the whole inscription; but the first five characters are, I suspect, inaccurately copied and engraved. After these the name of **שַׁה־פֹּה־רִי** Shahpouhri† is perfectly distinct and legible, with a letter following, which appears superfluous, unless we suppose that several other letters under the head have been effaced, or that it is the first of that word which precedes the name.

The learned Gronovius, in his explanations, prefixed to

* The entire collection of Gorlæus's Dactyliothea was purchased by Prince Henry and Charles the First, and sold and dispersed at Cromwell's accession.—See Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, Vol. II. p. 448.

† شاپوری

the Dactyliotheca of Gorlæus, p. 28, describes the figure on this gem to be “*Regulus orientis—cum externis literis;*” and my account of it will be almost as vague, for, although it exhibits the name of Shapour, yet this may be here as a genitive, and the word which I have not yet deciphered, the nominative, and another proper name like *Varharan Shapouhri* (Baharam the son of Shapour,) on the gem explained in the preceding section.*

SECT. IV.

GEM OF
SHAPOUR.

The Arabians not having in their alphabet the letter p, write this name شاپور *Shabour*. According to the venerable *Tabari*, in his history of Shapour the First—

این شاپور بتازی است و نام وی پیارسی شاه پور بود

“this word *Shabour* is after the Arabick idiom; in Persian his name was *Shah-pour*,” which, in the same chapter, he informs us signified *the king’s son*, یعنی پسر ملک. In ancient Zend, *pouthre* or *pothre* signified a son, and probably was softened in pronunciation (like the last syllable of *Artahshetr*) into *pouhr*, or *pour*. By the modern writers of

* The word preceding *Shahpouhri* may be *Firouz*, or *Ferokh*, both proper names which frequently occur in the Sassanian history—or it may be an adjective used merely as an epithet.

SECT. IV.

GEM OF
SHAPOUR.

Persia, the word *pour* is seldom used: but we find it frequently in the works of *Ferdusi*, *Khacani*, and the earlier poets—Thus in the *Shah-nameh*,

همیگفت هر کس ای پور شاه

“Every one exclaimed, O Son of the King!”

In another passage of the same poem it occurs twice—

بیابک چنین گفت از انپس جوان

که من پور ساسانم ای پهلوان

نبیره جهاندار شاه اردشیر

که بهمنش خواند یل شیرگیر

سرافراز پور یل اسفندیار

ز کشتاپ اندر جهان یادگار

“After that, the youth replied thus to Babek: Know, gallant hero, that

“I am the son of Sassan! Grandson of King Ardeshir, who possessed

“the world, and who was also called Bahman, the lion-conquering

“warrior—Exalted son of the hero Isfendyar—Memorial in this world

“of the illustrious Gushtasp.”

SECTION V.

Gem of Khosru.

ON the subject of this beautiful gem, an amethyst which belonged to the late King of France *, (see the plate, fig. 5,) I can venture to say, although part of its legend is still unknown to me, that it exhibits the head of some illustrious Persian, entitled *Khosru*; for, beginning opposite the face, we perceive the letters חוסרוי forming the name *Khosrui* †, which the Greek and Latin writers expressed by *Chosroes*—the Arabians by كسري *Kesri*—and the author of a Hebrew work by חושריף *Khoshref* or *Khosrev* ‡. Whe-

* Tassie's Catalogue of Gems, No. 674, Vol. I. p. 67. There is another with the same head and inscription in Mr. Tassie's Collection of Pastes, (marked No. 675 in his catalogue:) it is about half the size of that which I here describe, and so exactly resembles it, that if enlarged by a magnifying glass to the same dimensions, the difference can scarcely be perceived—of the larger one an engraving is given in Baudelot's ingenious work, "De l'Utilité des Voyages, tom. 1. p. 309—tom. 2. p. 460.

† خوسروي

‡ See the Book *Iuchasin*, quoted by Schikard in his *Tarich*, or Series

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KHOSRU.

ther the character which follows ' (i) in *Khosrui* be an 𐬨 (*h*), and belongs to that name, or to the next word, I have not ascertained—the name appears complete without it, but would not be affected by the addition of it—for 𐬨𐬌𐬭𐬀 *Khosruieh* would be as pure Persian as شيرويه *Shi-rouieh*, from which the European writers have formed *Siroes* and *Syroes*; and which, in some copies of the *Shah-nameh* and of *Tabari's Chronicle*, I find written شيروي *Shiroui*, like *Khosrui*, and شارويه *Sharouieh*. This final 𐬨, however, appears redundant, and is not found on the medals, which, in the next section, I attribute to *Khosru*; and

Regum Persiæ, 153. In this name we find that the Pahlavi 𐬨 or 𐬨𐬌 (used as *h* in *Varharan*, *Shahpouhri*, &c.) had sometimes the power of *Kh*, or 𐬨𐬌 which the Rabbinical writer expresses by 𐬨, an intermediate aspiration between the 𐬨 *h* and the hard 𐬨𐬌 *k*. In modern Persian, according to the Dictionary *Borhan Kattea*, we find the 𐬨𐬌 *Kh* changed not unfrequently into 𐬨 *h*, thus خاك into هاك an egg—خجیر into هجیر good and approved—(See Mr. Gladwin's excellent Grammar, the Persian Moonshee, London Edit. p. 68.) *Khoor* خور a name of the sun, is sometimes written by Ferdusi and other ancient authors هور *hoor*, as appears by several passages quoted in the Farhangs *Jehanguiri*, *Sururi*, &c.; which orthography agrees with the original Zend, *Houèrè*, the sun—See Anquetil du Perron's Zend Vocab. Zendav. tom. II. p. 464.

I rather believe that a combination of two letters following the *i* of *Khosrui*, forms that character which appears like *h*.

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From the want of proper Zend and Pahlavi vocabularies, I have it not in my power to explain the remaining letters of the inscription on this gem, although they appear sufficiently distinct and well-formed:—among them, however, I can perceive *אתון* *Atoun* (signifying fire), or *אתרו* *Atru*, or *אתור* *Atour*, or *אתרן* *Atorn*, (perhaps for *Athorne*,) a person belonging to the ancient sacerdotal orders *;—but these letters may probably form part of some longer word, the meaning of which I have not yet discovered.

The reader will perceive that the *R* in *Khosrui* is expressed (as on the gem of *Baharam Kirmanshah* before described, and on the medals which I shall endeavour to explain in the next section,) by the character usually appropriated to the letter *L*: this confusion or identity of form has been already noticed by M. de Sacy †; and we find on

* See “Anquetil des Perron’s Zendavesta,” vol. I. part 2d, pp. 115, 280, &c.

† Mem. sur diverses Antiq. de la Perse, 243.

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some inscriptions the familiar words *Airan*, *minochetri*, *Shahpouhri*, *Aniran*, &c. written *Ailan*, *menochetli*, *Shahpouhli*, and *Anilan*.—In the ancient Zend there was not any *l*; and in the modern Pahlavi manuscripts one character serves for *l* and *r*. On this subject I shall offer more particular observations in a future analysis of the Pahlavi alphabet.

SECTION VI.

Medals of Khosru.

I now proceed to a class of Persian medals, on the subject of which, although they have excited much curiosity, nothing more than vague conjecture has hitherto been proposed by the learned. I shall, in this place, advance one step farther, since I flatter myself that I can read on all of them, which have fallen under my observation, the name of *Khosru*; and on one, the usual title of the Sassanidæ, *Malkan malka*, or “King of kings.”

Of this class there are four silver medals preserved in the Hunterian, and one in the British Museum: to the Imperial Cabinet of Vienna also several belong, of which very excellent engravings (never published) have been lately communicated to me*.

* For the use of those engravings I am indebted to the politeness of Taylor Combe, Esq. son of the celebrated medallist, and a young gentleman, from whom the lovers of numismatick literature may expect shortly to receive much instruction and entertainment.

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OF
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In the annexed plate (fig. 6 and 7,) are representations of two from the collection of Dr. Hunter—the inscriptions on the obverse (for in this place I shall not examine the reverse) run in lines perpendicular, or parallel with the head, and must be read whilst the medal is held sideways, the face being opposite the reader, in which position the lines will be nearly horizontal, and the word **خوسروی** *Khosrui** legible in the lowermost. On the letters which appear whilst the medal is thus held in the upper lines, or when held perpendicularly behind the head, I shall not here offer any conjecture, nor on those characters which are perceived on the margin. The learned *Tychsen* of *Rostock* is of opinion, that some medals of this class contained legends both in the Persian and Arabick languages, and that those marginal characters denoted the æra of the coin†. He also assigns several reasons for believing that these medals have

* **خوسروی** For some remarks on the form of *R* in this name, and its frequent resemblance to the letter *L*, see the preceding section, p. 27.

† “Quorum numorum duæ mihi obvenerunt species, *altera* quæ meris inscriptionibus, ni fallor, persicis; *altera*, quæ bilinguis, Persica et Arabica est, et æram, ut conjicio, extra aream ad marginem rejectam habet.”—*Introd. in Rem. Numariam Muhamedanorum—Addit. I. p. 32. Rost. 1796.*

been erroneously attributed to the Sassanidæ, that they belong to the sovereigns of some provinces bordering on the Caspian sea, and that they are posterior to the age of Mohammed.

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In this opinion the celebrated M. de Sacy appears to agree, as I learn from a passage in one of the letters with which he honoured me some time ago; but it is probable, that when he wrote he had not studied those medals with much attention, since the purport of their legends was then unknown to him.

I must now acknowledge that with considerable reluctance I venture to differ in opinion on this, or on any subject, from such men as *Tychsen* and *De Sacy*;—but it is from such men that I can promise myself the most prompt forgiveness and indulgence, because the object of their literary inquiries, like that of my own, is merely the attainment of historick truth.

That those medals were coined by a prince of the *Sassanian* dynasty I am induced to think, by circumstances

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which shall be noticed in a future work, unless that I may be so fortunate as to make some discovery; or the more successful researches of some other person should, in the mean time, convince me of my error, which, in that case, I shall candidly and publicly acknowledge.

That the prince to whom those medals belong was named *Khosru*, I entertain but little doubt, since we cannot well suppose the word חוסרוי (*Khosrui*) to designate any other; and that this *Khosru* was not an obscure or petty prince, who governed some northern province of Iran in the time of Omar, or the other Khalifs *, appears from the inscription on a most curious medal preserved in the Imperial Cabinet at Vienna (pl. fig. 8.) of which the following words, distinct and legible, express a title of such pretension and extent, as the proud Arabian would not readily permit a tributary chief of infidels to bear—

חוסרוי מלכאן מלכא

Khosrui Malkan Malka, † “Khosru, the King of kings.”

* Tychsen—*Introd. in Rem. Num. Addit. I. p. 33, 34.*

† خوسروي ملکان ملکا

Whether these words, which are situated under the King's head, (when held sideways, or horizontally before the reader,) or whether those in the upper line commence the legend, I cannot yet determine; neither can I offer at present much beyond conjecture on the subject of the reverse, or Queen's side, although, in the lower line, (regarding the head horizontally as before mentioned,) I think we may discover the word אִירָן *Airan*, and some other combinations of letters which I shall more minutely examine hereafter, and which induce me to believe that this extraordinary medal was coined by *Khosru*, surnamed *Parviz*, who, after a very long reign, was murdered by his son *Shirouieh* in the year of Christ 626.

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If the word *Airan* has any other signification in this place than that of *Iran* or *Persia*, it is most probably the Queen's name. The historical reader will certainly recollect the Princess *Irene*, daughter of the Greek Emperor *Maurice*, whom *Khosru* is said to have espoused—and the letters which seem to form *Airan*, (pronounced *Iran*,) may, according to their equivocal nature, compose the word אִירִי *Airini*, or *Irini*. To these conjectures, (for they are merely

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such,) I shall add one more. In the Pahlavi alphabet*, the letters **𐭪** and **𐭫** are frequently expressed by the same character, or one so nearly alike that the difference can only be ascertained by the sense or context. Now, if we suppose the first letter of this word to be **𐭫** instead of **𐭪**, we shall read **𐭫𐭥𐭥𐭥** *Shirini*, the well-known favourite wife or mistress of Khosru, whose loves with this fascinating fair one have been sung by a thousand poets†, and recorded by the most grave and ancient historians:—of her beauty we may form a more favourable idea from the venerable *Tabari*'s description, than from the image on the medal, if indeed it is a representation of this lady. In his account of the wealth and magnificence of Khosru, we are informed, that

اورا زني بود شیرین نام که اندر همه روم و ترک نیکوتر ازوي نبود
 و خوش خوي تر از وي و ملک عجم صورتی وي نقش کرده بود و

* See M. de Sacy's Mem. sur div. Antiq. so often quoted.

† We read at length the story of their amours in the *Shah-nameh* of Ferdusi, in the *Khosru-Shireen* of Nizami, in the *Shireen Khosru* of Emir Khosru, &c. ; and we find perpetual allusions to them in the works of all the Lyrick poets. Some anecdotes, and a romantick story, translated from the *Shahnameh nesr*, on the subject of this unfortunate couple, may be found in the Oriental Collections, Vol. I. p. 211, 218, &c.

به ترک فرستاده و بهم نرکستان چون او نیافتند و این آن بود که فرهاد
بروی عاشق شد

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“ He had a wife (another copy reads کنیزکی a damsel or concubine) named
“ *Shireen* (or sweet), than whom, in all *Roum* (Syria, Anatolia, &c.)
“ and *Turkestan* (Tartary, the countries on the north-east of Persia, &c.)
“ there was not any more beautiful, or of a sweeter disposition :—and the
“ King of Persia caused her portrait to be painted, and sent to the inha-
“ bitants of *Turkestan*, but they could not find amongst them one like
“ her—and this is she of whom *Ferhad* became enamoured, &c.”

But I must return from this romantick story to our me-
dal, and observe, that after the word *Airan*, *Airini*, or *Shi-
rini*, I can discover five or six successive letters which ap-
pear the same with those on the other side of the medal,
in the line above the King's head, when held horizontally.
The same letters are also very distinct and legible on the
obverse of fig. 6, and on the other medals of this class, pre-
served in the Imperial Cabinet of Vienna, the British and
the Hunterian Museum : and the two first letters, at least,
may be perceived on the obverse of fig 7.

I reserve for my larger work some conjectures which
have suggested themselves on the subject of those letters—

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but I shall here suppose the reader not inclined to believe the female head that of *Shireen* or *Irene*, and desirous of knowing my reasons for attributing those medals to *Khosru*, surnamed *Parviz*, rather than to his illustrious grandfather, *Nushirvan*, whose proper name was خسرو Khosru, or کسري Kesri, as I find it indifferently written in the most ancient and authentick manuscripts.

The two reasons which I think it necessary here to assign, are,

1. The inelegant and barbarous style of execution : we find in the earlier medals of Ardeshir, Shapour, and even of Baharam, a considerable share of spirit and neatness—but in proportion as we descend to latter ages, the Sassanian coinage appears to have suffered a gradual deterioration *. I therefore assign those medals of Khosru to the

* There is another class of medals in the Hunterian Museum still more rudely and inaccurately executed than those of Khosru, of which I shall give engravings in my future publication : these I would assign to the latest Kings, who used the Pahlavi character, and exhibited the fire-altar on their coins ; but I cannot flatter myself with hopes of ever deciphering their legends.

last monarch of that name, who can justly claim them—
for although Mirkhond, Al Ghuffari, and two or three
other historians, mention the obscure reign of a later *Kesri*,
yet he is totally omitted by the more ancient writers, and,
if he ever existed, held the reins of government but a few
days or hours—he therefore cannot have any pretensions
to the honour of so numerous a coinage as we find of these
medals.

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II. The legends do not correspond with those of Nushir-
van's coin; for, according to *Tabari*, or his Persian trans-
lator, (who appears to have been well versed in Pahlavi
literature and antiquities,) the name and titles of that mo-
narch were thus inscribed upon his money:

شهنشاه ملک دادگر انوشروان

“The King of kings—the just king—Anushrevan.”

Although the *Shahinshah* of this inscription answers to
the *malkan malka* of fig. 8. yet the other medals want these
words; it is probable that the compound دادگر (a person who
acts justly, uprightly, &c.) was in the original Pahlavi, *beh*,
good or excellent—an epithet which occurs on all the

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coins of Ardeshir, Shapour, Baharam, &c. ; and, finally, the name of *Khosru*, which appears on the medals, is not part of the legend preserved by Tabari—nor can the name of *Nushirvan* (or more correctly *Anushrevan*) be found, I will venture to say, on the medals.

After all, I have only fulfilled my original design, as intimated in the first section, of offering mere conjecture on this class of medals. I have presumed, on the subject of them, to differ from two most eminent and learned Orientalists, and therefore expect that several may differ from me. Those who have opportunities of examining and comparing various other medals of this class, may discover some feature or character which shall enable them to ascertain the true meaning of the legends, and to correct my errors ; and I shall receive almost as much pleasure from such a correction, as from finding that my conjectures have not been erroneous.

SECTION VII.

Medals of Vologeses.

HITHERTO the subjects of my enquiries have all been, as there is reason to imagine, remains of Sassanian antiquity; inverting the usual order of chronology, I now ascend to an earlier age, and shall proceed to the examination of a bronze medal, (fig. 9.) engraved by Pellerin in the Third Supplement to his “*Recueils des Medailles*, (pl. I. fig. 13. *) Those who have devoted much attention to the study of ancient inscriptions, well know the difficulty of deciphering them from plates, however accurately or elegantly executed; there are always in the original some minute (yet perhaps important) features, which the copyist’s pencil can but seldom express, and still less frequently the engraver’s tool—a critick therefore should be indulgent, when the decipherer has not had an opportunity of consulting originals.

* M. de Sacy informs us, that there are several medals of this class preserved in the Cabinet of the late King of France.—Mem. sur div. Antiq. p. 202.

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 GESES.

Some articles which I have attempted to explain in the preceding sections of this work, I only know from engraved representations*; and I labour under the same disadvantage in respect to the medal now before us; which, however, I assign without hesitation to a prince of the Arsacidae, or Parthian dynasty, generally named *Bolagases*, or *Vologeses*, by the Greeks and Romans.

It requires but a moment's inspection of three other medals engraved on the plate from which I have extracted this †, to be convinced that all belong to the same king, Vologeses the Third, who reigned from the middle to near the close of the second century. This is sufficiently proved by the exact resemblance of the head, the tiara, crown, and Greek letter (B) on the obverse, although the reverse differs in every respect—for on that of the three larger medals, we find the portrait of a king seated on a throne or chair, and receiving, from a female figure who stands before

* The medal of Baharam (fig. 1.) from Pellerin—Gem of Shapour (fig. 4.) from Gorlæus—and Medal of Khosru (fig. 8.) from unpublished engravings in the collection of Mr. Combe.

† See “Pellerin's Third Supplement, as before quoted, Pl. 1. No. 6, 7, and 8.

him, a diadem or wreath, and a legend in Greek capitals; whilst our bronze medal exhibits, according to M. Pellerin, 'a cippus with a great circle above it *,' and an inscription in characters hitherto undeciphered. Of two medals bearing the same device and similar inscriptions, (see one of these, Plate, fig. 10.) the late Dr. Swinton of Oxford has offered an explanation †. But although he is right in assigning them to Vologeses, (which their resemblance to the Greek medals of that king enabled him at once to do,) yet I am induced to reject his explanation, not because M. de Sacy and other learned Orientalists have already condemned it, but because it is founded on a vague supposition, that the medal was coined at *Vologesia*, or *Bologesia*, of which the letter (B) on the obverse might be the initial—that Vologesia was probably a city of considerable commerce, therefore that it may have been frequented by "Jews, Persians or Parthians, Arabs, Syrians, and people of other nations;" whence he thinks it reasonable to conclude, that the vernacular dialect of the Vologesians may

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GESES.

* "Un cippe avec un grand cercle au dessus," p. 32.

† Philosoph. Transact. Vol. XLIX. p. 593.

have been a mixture of all the languages used by various travellers and merchants who visited the city.

Having thus composed an extraordinary jargon expressly for this medal, which he acknowledges to have been coined by a king of *Persia*, we are not surprised to find Dr. Swinton adapting to its inscription a kind of obscure *Palmyrene* alphabet; by means of which, he thinks, we may discover the barbarous word אגדל *Agdal*, and מלך *malek*, equivalent to the Hebrew חמלך הגדול *He malek he gadol*, or the “*Great King* *.”

Now, although the characters מלך in *malaka* may be found upon this medal, yet they are supposed by Dr. Swinton to form part of the word *Agdal*; and, in fact, he has mistaken every letter of the inscription, as might naturally be expected, since he endeavoured to decipher it by a wrong alphabet, and conceived it to be written in such a dialect as was never used.

If Vologeses thought proper to deviate from the usual

* Philosoph. Trans. Vol. XLIX. p. 596, pl. 18.

custom of the Arsacidæ, who generally used Greek legends on their coin, and, for the convenience of his Persian subjects, to express his name and titles in a language which they might understand, it is not reasonable to imagine that he would adopt the barbarous jargon of any particular city, in preference to the pure language of his whole empire; nor an obscure kind of Palmyrene character, rather than the proper Pahlavi.

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But it is time to offer my own explanation of this medal. I conceive its legend to be written in the Pahlavi language and character, and that, by comparing it with the inscriptions of *Nakshi Rustam* and *Kirmanshah*, as engraved by Niebuhr* and De Sacy†, we shall ascertain the following words, of which the first is situated exactly above the cippus—

מלכא בה בלגי מלכאן מלכא

Malka beh Balgi malkan malka‡.

“The excellent or good King—Vologeses—King of kings.”

* Voyages de Niebuhr, Vol. II. pl. 27.

† Mem. sur div. Antiq. &c. Pl. I. p. 1.—Pl. IX. p. 243.

‡ מלכא בה, בלגי מלכאן מלכא

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If there is any part of this inscription on the subject of which I have not perfectly satisfied myself, it is a stroke or letter which appears attached to the *h*, or tail of the *b* in *beh*; but that the word which follows *beh* is the king's name, I am very certain, whether it be written *Balgi*, *Balachi*, *Balacha*, *Balagdi*, *Balacha*, or otherwise, as we find it on Sassanian medals deciphered by M. de Sacy, who proves that European writers have expressed it as differently, writing it *Blasces*, *Balases*, *Balbes*, *Blases*, *Obalas*, &c. *

And on the subject of that stroke or letter which seems attached to the *beh*, any doubt would probably be removed by inspection of the medal itself. Although *beh* was an epithet, (as I shall hereafter prove,) almost peculiarly belonging to those who professed the religion of Zoroaster or Zeratusht; yet we may esteem it in this place as equivalent to the usual titles of the Arsacidæ, *δικαίος just*, *εὐεργετής*

* Mem. sur div. Antiq. p. 187.

beneficent, &c. Thus, on a coin which Vaillant * attributes to *Arsaces Pacorus*, we read—

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ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ
ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ.

“The King of kings—Arsaces, the beneficent, the illustrious, the friend of the Greeks.”

And on another of *Vologeses* †,

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΒΟΛΑΓΑΣΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ
ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ.

“The King of kings, Arsaces Bolagases, the just, the illustrious.”

But we are authorized, perhaps, to understand this word *beh*, not only in its general sense, as equivalent to the Greek *δικαιος* and *ευεργετης*, and to the Persian *اكر*, of Nushirvan's coin before mentioned ‡, but as an epithet, by which the king acknowledged himself a disciple of Zoroaster.

* *Arsacidarum Imperium, sive Regum Parthorum Hist.* Oct. Paris, 1728, p. 300.

† *Ibid.* p. 366.

‡ See Section VI. p. 37.

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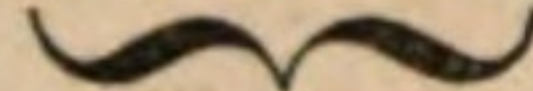
Although Vologeses may, like many of the Arsacidæ, have forgotten the faith of his ancestors, and preferred the manners of Greece to those of his own country, yet on a medal expressly coined for the use of his Persian subjects, he might probably assume such an epithet as would declare him favourable to their religion. That the worship of fire, although much corrupted and neglected, was not altogether abandoned in Persia, whilst governed by the Arsacidæ, appears from various circumstances : it must here suffice, however, to mention, that the fire-temple of Istakhar, or Persepolis, (according to the historian Tabari,) had been for some generations before Ardeshir Babegan (or Artaxerxes) who overthrew the Arsacidæ, entrusted to the care of his ancestors *; and perhaps a fanciful antiquary might discover in that figure on the medal, which M. Pellerin calls a “ *Cippus with a great circle above it,*” some resemblance to a fire altar.

But I have extended this work far beyond the limits

* *وآتش خانه اصطخر بدست وی بود* The entire history of Ardeshir, extracted from the ancient chronicle of Tabari, shall be given in that work which I have so often promised to the reader.

originally prescribed to it, although, in almost every page, a variety of matter is suppressed, which I reserve for a future and more considerable volume. On some articles described in these pages I have spoken with that degree of confidence which naturally arises from a conviction of being right: on some other subjects I have offered little more than conjecture—but conjecture, founded, I trust, on probability: my opinions, however, may prove erroneous; yet I shall neither consider my time as having been mis-spent, nor my labour thrown away, if any hints which I may have suggested shall be found useful to a more fortunate or skilful inquirer in the discovery of truth.

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 GESES.

 THE END.

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THE END.

8

Ouseley, William

Observations on some Medals and Gems, bearing inscriptions in the Pahlavi
or ancient Persick character with a table of money's

London 1801

4 Num.ant. 128 k

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